DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 168 939 SO 011 599

AUTHOR Popkewitz, Thomas S.
TITLE Educational Research: Values and Visions of Social Order. Theoretical Paper No. 71.
INSTITUTION Wisconsin Univ., Madison. Research and Development Center for Individualized Schooling.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Sep 78
CONTRACT OB-NIE-G-78-0217
NOTE 50p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Beliefs; Curriculum Development; *Educational Objectives; Educational Philosophy; *Educational Research; Educational Theories; Elementary Secondary Education; Political Influences; Problem Solving; *Relationship; Research Needs; Research Problems; Social Change; Social Sciences; Social Studies; *Social Values; *Sociocultural Patterns; Socioeconomic Influences; Teaching Methods; Theories; *Values

ABSTRACT

To shed light on the social research perspectives which enable people to give coherence to daily events, educational researchers must continually scrutinize the social values and beliefs which underly their research. As social and cultural affairs are explained by the social sciences, so also are theories and methods influenced by social conflict. For example, social studies curriculum developers have recently responded to conflicts in society by developing values clarification, public issues, and citizenship education programs. Also, educators and scholars have concentrated on phenomena which they believed influenced the learning of minorities, including school practices, curriculum materials, community life, and poverty. Because the theories of social and educational research help define the political, social, and educational problems which will be emphasized, researchers must adopt a self-reflective and critical stance when choosing research topics. Further, they need to consider the social and political implications of educational analysis, examine ethical and moral premises upon which schools are founded, and allow for student values and beliefs when developing curriculum. (DB)

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Theoretical Paper No. 71

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH: VALUES AND VISIONS OF SOCIAL ORDER

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by

Thomas S. Popkewitz

Report from the Project on
Evaluation of Practices in Individualized Schooling

Thomas S. Popkewitz
Faculty Associate

SP 011 599

Wisconsin Research and Development
Center for Individualized Schooling
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

September 1978

The project presented or reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant from the National Institute of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the National Institute of Education, and no official endorsement by the National Institute of Education should be inferred.

Center Contract No. OB-NIE-G-78-0217

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- developing and demonstrating improved instructional strategies, processes, and materials for students, teachers, and school administrators
- providing assistance to educators which helps transfer the outcomes of research and development to improved practice in local schools and teacher education institutions

The Wisconsin Research and Development Center is supported with funds from the National Institute of Education and the University of Wisconsin.

WISCONSIN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
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EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH:

VALUES AND VISIONS OF SOCIAL ORDER

> If these conditions (of social science being historically influenced) make trouble for us as social scientists, remember that they are a great advantage to humanity, by leaving men the illusion of choice. I speak of the illusion because I myself believe that what each of us does is absolutely determined. (George Homans, 1967)

> It is often thought and said that what we most need in education is wisdom and broad understanding of the issues that confront us. Not at all. What we need are deeply structured theories in education that drastically reduce, if not eliminate, the need for wisdom. (Patrick Suppes, 1974)

The above statements are part of more general treatises about the nature of social research. The authors argue for social/psychological sciences which provide explanatory statements about human behavior.[1] They believe the power of the explanations lies in their objective, culture-free quality. Yet, as the quotes suggest, the very search for scientific reasoning

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[1] I will use the label "social science" as a general term which includes the traditional social sciences (political science, sociology, psychology, and history). Educational research is a special type of social science, having an institutional focus on schooling. The generic label, social science, gives emphasis to the social nature of all the disciplines.

reflects commitments which go beyond the coherence of findings or methods. Underlying the practice of social research are assumptions about society. These assumptions refer to the nature of social control, order, and responsibility. Far from being neutral, inquiry is a human process of understanding which involves hopes, values, and unresolved questions about social affairs.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the values of educational research. The argument will focus on the social and cultural implications of research. The concern will be how theory and methods give legitimacy to certain educational and cultural patterns. The purpose is to locate the political and sometimes ideological functions of professional work.

Educational Research as a Cultural Imperative

Social research expresses human commitment and value in at least two ways.[2] First, research may respond to our perceptions of social and cultural conditions. It enables us to reconcile possible social contradictions and to consider the consequences of institutional arrangements. Durkheim's studies of religion and education, for example, have social and historical meanings beyond those traditionally associated with

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[2] I have explored the social and cultural nature of inquiry in "Myths of Social Science in Curriculum" (Popkewitz, 1976a) and "Craft and Community as Metaphors for Social Inquiry Curriculum" (Popkewitz, 1977).

their descriptive reliability. Durkheim's studies give focus to his deep moral concern about urban and industrial changes in the late 19th century.

Secondly, social research has a highly valued status in society. Many people believe that political, social, and educational issues require scientific solutions. Deliverance from the domination of nature and from social oppression requires expert knowledge. In the following discussion, these two cultural dimensions of social research will be explored.

Much of the sociology of science emphasizes the community aspect of scientific inquiry (Hagstrom, 1965; Storer, 1966). A scientific discipline, it is believed, exists as a social organization. It contains certain norms, standards, and lines of reasoning which provide underlying rules for judging the worth of individual research. Individuals are socialized into a particular community and tend to accept the existing definitions of problems and methods. For example, a U.S. economist typically will think about "capital" and "production" and express findings mathematically. A cultural anthropologist, in contrast, documents and interprets events as "culture" and expresses them in narrative form. However, because socialization is not totally coercive, many different points of view may

exist within a single discipline. These disagreements can produce intense debate about which research questions and methods of study are appropriate. Mulkay (1972) argues that these conflicts and the resultant cross-fertilization of ideas are vital to scientific imagination and creativity.

The conflict within the social sciences should be considered in the larger context of social and cultural commitments. Disciplinary disagreements often involve an interplay of political, methodological, and epistemological issues (Horowitz, 1968).

This conflict can be illustrated in recent debates within the field of education. For example, learning psychologists have dominated the intellectual work of education. Educational psychology tends to focus upon student performance and the interchange between students and teachers. Recently, however, sociologists of educational knowledge have challenged the educational psychologists' assumptions about the study of schooling (Karabel & Halsey, 1977). These sociologists believe that learning psychology deflects attention from the way schools legitimize certain types of cultural knowledge and interests.

This criticism of conventional educational research defines alternative methods. Sociological approaches emphasize the

relationship between institutional patterns and individual consciousness. In defining a different purpose and method for study, these criticisms challenge deeply held beliefs about the social meanings and purposes of educational research.

We can illuminate the relationship between research and social conditions more clearly by focusing upon the purpose of research. Rather than a rationalization for existing conceptions, inquiry can be viewed as a search for new metaphors for thinking about everyday affairs. The metaphors are "lenses" which enable people to give coherence to daily events that before seemed incomprehensible or troubling. The genius of Einstein and Keppler, for example, was their ability to put the physical world into sharp focus, different from what others accepted as common sense. The new lenses enabled scientists to consider different forms of questions and produce greater depths of understanding. The importance of the systems of thought provided by Freud, Marx, and Weber, as well, was to orient people to feel, see, and think about their social and personal lives in new and different ways. The metaphors of "unconsciousness," "ideology," or "bureaucracy" permitted people to conceive of social reality as having many different

layers of interpretation, some of which were not readily apparent in everyday life. The concepts focus on the pretentions, deceptions, and self-deceptions which people use to cloak their interactions.

Social and cultural affairs influence the search for new metaphors in the social sciences. Töennies' Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, a classical work in sociology, articulated his sense of a loss of community brought about by industrialization. Weber's notion of bureaucracy reflected an attempt to rationalize social and economic affairs which were occurring. Durkheim's theme of anomie represented a spirit of pessimism, moral uncertainty, and dislocation of norms produced in a period of material progress (Nisbet, 1976). In more recent times the Civil Rights movement and protests against the Viet Nam war brought new themes for study to the research community. For example, political scientists and many social studies educators became concerned about problems of political legitimacy and socialization occuring in this relatively unstable period. Some scholars studied school practices, curriculum materials, and community life which they thought influenced the learning of minorities. Curriculum designers, as well, responded to the conflicts in society by developing value clarification, public issues, and citizenship education programs.

Educational researchers are members of their culture and inherit its history (Schultz, 1973). Their work contains assumptions developed and sustained in everyday conversations, behaviors, and events. Social theory, for example, uses language drawn from everyday conversations. The form and content of the language reflect beliefs, commitments, and values. Theories of totalitarianism, important in the 1960's, were built on people's daily experiences. Totalitarian theories grew out of the 1950's debate about a "cold war." People in this country found themselves with allies who had been enemies just a few years before during a large-scale war. The new forces of evil were communism, not fascism. One response to the new situation and its alliances was to generate theories about totalitarianism. These theories not only reflected the changed situation, but lent credibility to our new political allies.

This discussion has, to this point, focused upon two cultural dimensions of social research. First, the creativity of inquiry has sociological as well as psychological characteristics. Research exists within and is supported by a community of discourse. Second, the nature and character of scientific work is responsive to the larger social world. The social

researcher participates in everday conversations and uses those dialogues as a background for occupational endeavors. The cultural quality of research, however, is not complete until a third dimension is considered: A scientific community is a product of the social world.

Science does not stand by itself but is a cultural artifact. Status is given to scientific knowledge in business, political, and social institutions. Political leaders use scientific techniques to "poll" people about their actions and policies. Industrial psychologists and organizational researchers provide information about how to organize labor. Economic theorists guide peoples' interpretations about the relationship between work, capital, and consumption. Historians interpret America's past which helps establish a collective identity (see Zinn, 1970). Curriculum researchers apply scientific thought for selecting, organizing, and evaluating schooling. In everyday choices, science is viewed as making life more manageable and social problems more solvable. Social science is in demand and seems a necessary component of our everyday consciousness.

The cultural imperative of scientific thought can be illuminated by comparing Western science with the African

Azande (Winch, 1977). The Azande maintain a system of magical thought which constitutes a coherent universe of discourse similar to science. It provides an intelligible conception of reality and a clear way of deciding which beliefs are and are not in agreement with that view of reality. Poison oracles or ghost rites to influence rainfall exist within a context of rules and conventions which gives these actions a sense of significance.

The Azande rationale is no less intelligent than the logic of science practiced by anthropologists who study these people. Its principles and rules arise out of the course of human conduct and are subordinate to existent cultural beliefs. The magic rites explain and justify those beliefs. The way of thinking found in Western science would be incomprehensible to the Azande. In fact, science would seem to them to have many of the same irrational "magical" qualities that Western anthropologists see in Azande culture when judging solely by logical "scientific" rules. The Azande or the anthropologists' structure of thought is significant only within the context of larger social forms.

Educational Theory as Political Affirmation

At first glance, the suggestion that theory and research methods contain political values may seem misleading, if not in error. Our assumptions "tell" us that theory is objective and neutral. Theories, it is believed, give coherence to data and expression to human regularities. The previous discussion, however, suggests that theories are products of human ingenuity. In this section, the nature of social values in research will be considered by focusing upon how theories justify social action.

Theory has at least three political functions in educational discourse. Theory can (a) provide a rationale for changing social and economic conditions which enables these changes to seem reasonable, (b) provide a mechanism to legitimize institutional interests, and (c) give direction to consideration of alternative social arrangements.

Social theory can provide symbolic coherence to changing social, political, and economic conditions. Alvin Gouldner (1970), in a book entitled The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, argues that social theory is not so much a determination of "facts," but an effort to make sense of unresolved experiences and to interpret the meaning of one's life. The dominant

sociology of the 1930's, Gouldner argues, was a conservative response to the crisis of the times. The fundamental posture of sociological theory was to accept dominant institutions in order to maintain traditional loyalties and avoid discontinuities. In a similar discussion, Merelman (1976) defines social science as a social organization which responds to larger social institutions. This response often creates new symbols of harmony and hope in times of changing social order. The changing political world after the 1930's[3] brought an encroachment of political activities into what had been previously considered private affairs (Merelman, 1976). Government extended its activities by creating social security, unemployment insurance, and corporate and agricultural subsidies. This rapid encroachment brought with it a sense of political impotence to individuals.

Behavioral political scientists provided an organized response to these changing social conditions. Political inquiry created political symbols which reestablished the idea of community. These symbols included political culture, pluralism, and political socialization. Interestingly, many of these symbols are used today to justify educational practices such as decentralization and citizenship education. Political

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[3]Many of the theoretical perspectives and research techniques developed at this historical time have become important to educational analysis. Among these are the theory of functionalism in sociology and the survey methodology of behavioral science.

inquiry also developed methodologies which enabled people to believe they were being consulted, such as "polls" or surveys of public opinion. The theory and methods of political science helped reduce strain between the changing role of government and the beliefs people cherished about public life.

The introduction of "new" theories of instruction or curriculum can be a way of helping people to cope with larger crises in social and political conditions. For example, the late 1960's and 1970's have produced a "crisis of values." An Asian war, urban riots, and government lawlessness such as Watergate, FBI, and CIA Activities have thrown basic values of American life further into question.

In this social context, many educators have used theories about "moral development" and "values clarification" to orient curriculum development. The concept of "values clarification," for example, helps explain and give coherence to social conditions which otherwise seem without purpose. The theories of values, in turn, serve institutional functions. Value theories justify the use of therapeutic approaches (Lockwood, 1975) in situations where students and parents have questioned the efficiency of institutions.

The recent and extensive attention to "individualized" education can also be considered within a social and institutional context. The sanctity of the individual has received increasing ideological support since the early 19th century. Out of the French Revolution came a definition of the individual as free from religious and feudal restraints. The development of Western industrialization and the fragmentation of community life expanded the need for an ideology of individual inviolability.

The notion of individualism is an increasingly potent symbol in education. The social efficiency curriculum of David Snedden responded to individual "needs" of the early 20th century (Drost, 1967). Progressive educators, as well, developed programs to respond to the "uniqueness" of individuals. Criticism in the past two decades has focused upon the routine, standardized nature of instruction. Phillip Jackson (1968), for example, argued that too much of schooling is formed around the grouping process and batching of children. This social organization of schooling eliminates spontaneity, creativity, and the pursuit of individual interests.

"Individualized instruction" is a contemporary response to the belief that social institutions should consider personal

fulfillment as essential. The theories of individualization provide ways for individuals to believe that schools are responsive to human differences. Many educators, for example, adopt management and learning theories to provide a rationale for "individualized" program development. These theories guide educators in identifying "systems" for organizing teaching and instruction. Curriculum content, for example, is subdivided into different levels or degrees of difficulty. Materials are organized sequentially and children paced "individually" through the defined work. A contrasting model of "individualized instruction" exists in the British Infant School, which stresses the nurturing of "self" through social interaction.

Theories of moral development and individualization have political potency. They provide symbols which help people to express a variety of emotions associated with schooling. These theories enable people to resolve contradictions between the values they hold and the actual conditions of schools. The theories of pedagogy symbolically tie together seeming discontinuities and social strains, bringing reassurances of ethical commitment and institutional adaptiveness. The theories make it appear that professionals have a grasp of what should be

done. Reassurances, however, do not necessarily alter or explain what actually occurs in schools.

Theory as Legitimation

Closely tied to the "strain" function of theory is legitimation. Statements which result from educational research enable certain structures and interests in school affairs to seem normal and reasonable. Legitimation occurs in at least two ways. First, theories have underlying values and beliefs that dispose us to act. Second, the organizing categories of theory define what is often taken for granted about institutional life.

The legitimating function of theory can be understood by realizing that theory has different layers of meaning. A typical way of considering theory is through its explicit statements, i.e., what is overtly said about schools, curriculum, or students. For example, many recent social studies programs are based on political theories which encourage interest in group participation. Therefore, curriculum developers may propose that: "Students have more positive attitudes about school if involved in decision making." This statement has nonobvious meanings. It contains a series of unpostulated and unlabeled assumptions about the world. The theory of participation, for

example, may "treat" the world as highly integrated and people as rational. These assumptions will guide people seeing and experiencing political activities. Participation may be considered to mean rational involvement in publicly sanctioned groups, such as a student council. The assumptions about participation also create attitudes about how institutional structures should be challenged. Lack of participation, for example, may be viewed as lack of individual motivation rather than as an institutional defect. Remedies, then, are those which enable students to feel politically capable, such as courses in student participation "skills." The courses, however, may not deal at all with the structural reasons that some students, such as low income groups, fail to participate. Such courses may, in fact, increase the students' sense of inadequacy. While designing curriculum, the assumptions and prescriptions of a political theory are treated as "real" and not scrutinized for possible latent implications or consequences.

The social categories researchers accept to guide their inquiry can also serve to legitimize school structures. Often educational research is initiated in response to some administrative action and is guided by the administrator's definition of the problem. Many curriculum research projects accept the

objectives of pedagogical programs and are organized to "explain" how the means helped reach the objective. In a social studies curriculum project, for example, the research focused on whether the course material was learned, whether the teachers perceived the material to be clear and easy to use, and how well students understood and achieved project goals (Angrist, Mickelsen, & Penna, 1976). The results of the research did not question, but assumed, the premises of the project, i.e., that knowledge from the social sciences should be distributed equally in schools.[4] The consequence is an ad hoc curriculum theory that justifies the agreed-upon design of the project administrators.

"Basic" research, as well, often assumes that the administrative categories of schooling are nonproblematic. A recent article on teacher pedagogical decisions, for example, was concerned with how teachers make instructional choices based on information processing (Shavelson, Cadwell, & Izu, 1977). The empirical problem was to present a group of graduate students in education with information about student aptitude, children's ages, family status (divorced, number of siblings, etc.), children's use of time in school, and intelligence. Sometimes the information was negative, i.e., the child did not do his or her homework or the father was a machinist rather than an engineer. A

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[4]These assumptions are challengeable. The discipline-centered curriculum tends to provide a crystalized notion of "science" which distorts its creativity and maintains values which are conservative (Keddie, 1971; Popkewitz, 1976).

second session for teachers was held to provide more information. The teachers were asked to revise instructional decisions based on the above information. The conclusion of the study was (a) "subjects may use different kinds of information to make different kinds of decisions;" (b) "...decisions at time one and time two were influenced by other factors not measured in this study" (Shavelson et al., 1977, p. 95).

With such common-sensical conclusions, one might ask what the function of such research is. The question can be answered in two different ways. Methodologically, researchers tend to believe that through the slow accumulation of data some important generalizations about teaching will be made. Furthermore, there seems to be a technical elegance to the report itself, especially when data collection, literature, and review findings are succinctly and carefully presented, and sophisticated techniques such as path analysis increase data manipulation.

The social impact of the research, however, overshadows its methodological elegance. It has social and political ramifications which are as important as the tests of reliability. First, people tacitly accept institutional assumptions, some of which are defined by school professionals themselves. Achievement,

intelligence, and "use of time" are accepted as useful variables for stating problems about schools and these categories provide the basis for research. Inquiry enables researchers to see how school categories relate, but it does not test assumptions or implications underlying the school categories. For example, there is no question about the nature of the tasks at which children spend their time. Research conclusions are conceived within parameters provided by school administrators. Second, researchers accept social myths as moral prescriptions. Social class, social occupation (engineer or machinist), or divorce are accepted as information which should be used in decision making. These assumptions maintain a moral quality and criteria which may justify social inequality. Third, the research orientation tacitly directs people to consider school failure as caused by those who happen to come to its classes. Social and educational assumptions are unscrutinized.

One could say at this moment that this is only research. It is not how people make decisions. I would argue, however, that research often has a way of entering into the domains of school interaction. People adopt the categories and definitions for understanding their own and others' actions. The research

orientation defines as well as responds to the school situation. Educational administrators, curriculum developers, and teachers use the research to direct their practical activities, and the effect is to limit and predispose individuals in their actions and conceptions of educational possibilities.

Theory as Alternate Possibilities

Theory can also direct attention to the possibility of alternatives. Open education is a case in point (Tabachnick, 1976). Its followers have developed a consistent set of statements which orient people to think about different institutional forms. Open education searches for ways in which students could develop more autonomy in social relationships. Mutuality of roles, community, and reciprocity of relations are perceived to be central to the structure of school experience and are measures of its outcomes.[5]

Open education theories provoke thought about alternative institutional structures. The North Dakota Study Group on Evaluation, for example, uses theory to develop a consistent relationship between the ethical purposes of schooling, its curriculum methods, and evaluation procedures. It is one of the few attempts to explore systematically the relationship between ideology, practice, and research. Tabachnick (1976) has argued that open

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[5]While the vision of open education does have the potential to guide people in a search for social alternatives, the practice of open education has tended to be nonpolitical. Puppetry, "creative" writing, or stitchery often replace sustained disciplined thought. Mutual satisfaction among class participants becomes the purpose of schooling rather than a search for community in relation to some general intellectual problem or social issue.

education theories can direct the formation of social inquiry curriculum. He suggests that there is a mutual relationship between open education and social inquiry in schools, the latter giving emphasis to an active search for knowledge and individual responsibility.

In conclusion, educational theory is a form of political affirmation. The selection and organization of pedagogical activities give emphasis to certain people, events, and things. Educational theory is potent because its language has prescriptive qualities. A theory "guides" individuals to reconsider their personal world in light of more abstract concepts, generalizations, and principles. These more abstract categories are not neutral; they give emphasis to certain institutional relationships as good, reasonable, and legitimate. Visions of society, interests to be favored, and courses of action to be followed are sustained in theory.

Research Practices and Visions of Social Order

Thus far, I have focused the argument upon the implications of educational research. I have considered the cultural nature of inquiry and the politics of educational theory. I would like to focus now upon the practices of study. The purpose is, again,

to shift the argument away from conventional discourse about the reliability and validity of scientific endeavors. While important, such scrutiny is unable to shed light upon the cultural values actually represented. If science is a cultural activity, an adequate understanding of the truth of its statements must include discussion of cultural definitions. In particular, questions should be considered which illuminate value statements about social affairs embedded in the practices of study.

As with theory, the suggestion that research practices embody values goes against conventional wisdom. Researchers often argue that methods are the only factors in science. Kerlinger (1973), for example, defines methods of inquiry as procedures in which beliefs have no effects. The character of method, he argues, remains entirely independent of our beliefs, perceptions, biases, values, attitudes, and emotions.

The stance of neutrality is itself a value stance. It expresses a belief and a hope of researchers. As I will argue, the procedures of inquiry contain assumptions about social relationships which are interrelated with theory and human purpose.

One approach to considering values in practice is to look at techniques. In many ways, the techniques of study are treated

as skills which exist independently of the purpose or commitment of those who do research. The professional preparation of researchers, for example, consists of courses in statistics, field study, or survey research. It is assumed that these techniques of data collection and analysis can be learned as specialized skills apart from the actual process of inquiry. The techniques, to phrase the problem somewhat differently, are conceived of as neutral to the conduct of study.

A critical scrutiny of techniques yields a different perspective. Techniques emerge from a theoretical position and therefore reflect values, beliefs, and dispositions towards the social world. Factor analysis, for example, was created as a measurement procedure for faculty psychology and was based on the assumption that the mind has different compartments which could be trained as independent units (Hamilton, in press). While faculty psychology has been discredited, its techniques are still in use, thus maintaining the assumption that the mind is a cluster of parts.

Fox and Hernandez-Nieto (1977) argue that mathematical models for research articulate value preference and underlying assumptions about social relations. Conventional statistical

techniques, for example, are based on Euclidean geometry which has linear conceptions of time and space. In contrast, newer mathematical models contain dialectical principles. The development of the new models for research derives, in part, out of a theoretical and value commitment to include dimensions of free will, intention, and historical setting.

The choice of technique is a moral responsibility. Moral questions are deeply intertwined with the general commitments of science. Social scientists, for example, are concerned with developing verifiable knowledge. This interest involves manipulating variables to test outcomes of a hypothesis and the predictive quality of theory. This commitment poses no dilemma to most physical or life scientists--they can change the heating temperature to combine elements or experiment with hybrid feed without any moral guilt. In high energy physics, molecular biology, or medical research, the manipulation of variables often does have direct implications for human beings. Various ethical and legal restrictions have evolved from this research.

Questions of morality and immorality are <u>always</u> involved in social research since the "subjects" of social scientists are people. The problem of controlling variables is a moral one.

It is immoral, Homans (1967) argues, to manipulate people. The alternative is to create statistical techniques which provide scientists with the necessary tools to manipulate data.

> It is certainly less easy in the social sciences than in some physical and biological sciences to manipulate variables experimentally and to control the other variables entering into a concrete phenomenon...It is less easy to control the variables because it is less easy to control men than things. Indeed it is often immoral to try to control them: men are not to be submitted to the indignities to which we submit, as a matter of course, things and animals. Hence the relative prominence in some of the social sciences, even increasingly in history, of other methods of controlling variables, methods thought somehow less satisfactory, such as the use of statistical techniques (Homans, 1967, p. 22).

Ideology and Methods

The relationship between technique and value implies that educational research is based upon certain background assumptions and consequences. These implications can be illuminated

by looking at the particular commitments to science that underlie much conventional research. These commitments are: (a) Social science is to be modelled after the physical sciences. (b) Social science is a deductive system of propositions which report the law-like qualities of human affairs. These laws are to explain and predict the actions of individuals in a manner similar to those developed in the physical sciences. (c) Objectivity is important to social science. This is the ability of the observer/recorder to develop techniques that place the data outside (away from) the particular meanings, interpretations, and values of social situations and researchers. (d) Objectivity is obtained through rigorous techniques which produce "hard" data that express events as numbers rather than words. Mathematics is important to these beliefs and commitments to science because it eliminates ambiguities (43% is 43%) and human values.

These commitments and related research practices produce a pattern in which problems, methods, and theory interrelate as a self-sustaining and almost self-justifying system. The significance of this research pattern is that peculiar definitions are given to social problems and social order.

The commitment to rigorous techniques tends to narrow the focus of research to those aspects which can be numerically expressed. In a recent study of teacher effectiveness (Cooley, Leinhardt, & McGrail, 1977), for example, the authors discussed student outcomes as involving dimensions such as citizenship, attitude towards learning, conceptions of "self," creativity, and achievement. However, since achievement is the only dimension which has reliable testing, achievement was treated as the primary interest. Rigorous techniques of the study enable us to learn less and less about the social affairs we researched. David Easton (1971) argues that an important dimension of educational theory is that it be relevant to social problems. However, as illustrated above, the commitment to rigorous techniques has removed that dimension and, in fact, hinders the search for understanding our human condition. Questions of human values and politics are ignored.

Another consequence of conventional research is related to objectivity. Some researchers maintain the belief that there are regularities or laws of human nature which lie outside personal intentions and motives. The belief in an underlying natural order has a direct impact upon how data is obtained,

i.e., objective data require mathematical expression which eliminates human values and ambiguity from science. This commitment to objectivity requires a view of the world as certain and crystalized.[6]

The assumption that the world is certain influences social practice. Sociological researchers suggest that people can only pretend to play a role for so long. After a while, the role becomes real. The form of playing is the reality. The quote by Homans cited at the beginning of this paper suggests that determinism is an a priori value of some research. What was originally a methodological device is now a view of the world which includes definitions of how people should act, believe, and feel.

The pedagogical sciences provide a case-in-hand. Researchers often define the purpose of education as "changing children to some desired end." Educational theories are the technical apparatus that guide the manipulation of children. Experimental techniques are implemented as the means of instruction. Behavior modification is thought of as a teaching strategy. The moral hesitancy of social scientists to intervene in human life is often nonexistent when it comes to schooling.

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[6]The idea of objectivity in research can be treated in a different manner. Berger and Luchmann (1967) define reality as being socially constructed and maintained through a dialectic, thus arguing against a crystalization of social structures.

The belief that teachers are human engineers is exemplified in a popular book on curriculum development entitled Instructional Product Development (Baker & Schultz, 1971). The authors define curriculum design as a technological problem which involves stating educational results in terms of precise, observable performances of children. For example, an acceptable objective of a history lesson might be to teach a student to "order four wars of the 19th century chronologically" (p. 10). The goal of educational research is to find more efficient ways of obtaining correct performances from children. To test these performances, criterion-referenced measures are constructed. They provide clear, precise test items that refer to objectives (i.e., a child lists wars chronologically). The authors define professionals as "personnel" whose function is "management of human resources which will lead to more efficient administration of instruction and the greater likelihood that prescribed outcomes will be attained." A professional's task is to measure teaching efficiency and a researcher's task is to identify levels of mastery.

Educational change theories maintain similar assumptions about people, schools, and research. Change-oriented research

is often concerned with how experts (change agents) can encourage participants in an organization to accept the administrators' reforms (see, for example, Popkewitz, 1976b). Psychological and organizational research on "change" provides information which enables the change agent to manipulate the people or situation to achieve the desired results. A healthy organization is defined as one which accepts the change agent's definitions. A traditional organization is defined as one in which there are close, personal ties, and this social affiliation makes it less easily manipulated through outside intervention schemes. Change practices carefully control, through piecemeal additions, the established order of things. People are defined as recipients of values, and human capabilities as functionally related to existing structures. The ethical implications of how educational insitutions are organized, or the nature of expectations upon school participants, are not deemed important for scrutiny.

In much curriculum thought and educational reform, the science of education is translated into a technology. Choices exist only when they make the existing system more rational, efficient, and controllable. Science is administration of

people; research is a team effort, user-oriented, and devoid of the imagination described earlier. The skepticism and self-criticism which characterize science are made irrelevant. Curriculum is no longer an ethical task. In fact, the technical nature of professional work makes the image of the Renaissance man, as Baker and Schultz (1971) suggest, an image "for his time, not ours."

The image of educational science exudes a belief that "the laws" of nature or the knowledge of human existence have been discovered and are available to implant in children. Educators manipulate and control children as physical scientists manipulate objects of the physical world. Although the belief that the laws of social life are known is a chimera, human engineers act upon educational affairs as though there were no difficulties or uncertainties. The ceremonies and rituals of research give the practice legitimacy and sanctity. The moral implications of control, dominance, and power are eliminated from discussion when the only problem of schooling is considered to be implementing technologies.

The concept that educational science is similar to the physical sciences is an ideological one. Gouldner (1970)

argues, for example, that behind methodologies and techniques is a belief that (a) people might unite in order to subdue a "nature" that is regarded as external to man, and (b) technologies might be developed which would transform the universe into a "usable" resource of mankind as a whole. These assumptions led to a belief that people could control the rest of the universe and have the right to use the universe for their own benefit. When the assumptions of the physical sciences were applied to studies of people, specific problems arose.

> The humanistic parochialism of science, with its premised unity of mankind, created problems, when the effort was made to apply science to the study of mankind itself. It did so partly because national or class differences then became acutely visible, but also, perhaps more important, because men now expected to use social science to "control" men themselves, as they were already using physical science to control "nature." Such a view of social science premised that a man might be known, used, and controlled like any other thing: it "thingafied" man. The use of the physical sciences as a model fostered just such a

> conception of the social sciences, all the more so as they were developing in the context of an increasingly utilitarian culture (Gouldner, 1970, p. 492).

Research as a Cultural Imperative Revisited

At this point, one might argue that educational research contains many different approaches and values to study. Within the educational research community, for example, there are Marxists, pluralists, liberals, and so on. The conflict between people of different research orientations would tend to cancel out the importance of any particular intellectual approach in determining social affairs.

The history of science, however, suggests that not all approaches are accepted equally. Marxist analysis, for example, while having a respected tradition in Europe, has not been accepted within the American research community. In contrast, behavioral and management approaches have assumed a dominant position in this country's social scientific community.[7] This dominance makes the pattern of power and authority underlying behavioralism more potent in determining social affairs. Behavioralism is used to sustain and make credible many existing practices. The fact that the values of behavioralism are tacit and not scrutinized makes those values psychologically compelling.

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[7]The assumptions, implications, and consequences of management perspectives in education are discussed in Popkewitz and Wehlage (1973).

It is important to ask why a particular approach, such as behavioral research, can become dominant. The answer, though, cannot be obtained simply by examining the ideas generated by the approach itself. The conclusions of behavioral education research, for example, often have little practical use as metaphors or as predictors in institutional life. The reasons for accepting a research pattern lie, in part, outside the educational community and within larger historical and political trends.

The acceptance of behavioral research can be related to the rise of professionalism. The drive for professional stature of the managerial and the "helping" occupations occurred at approximately the same historical time. Each sought more control over its domains (Lasch, 1977). The helping professions, in particular, persuaded their clients to rely on scientific technology and the advice of scientifically trained experts. The clients' "needs," however, were not those which emerged from the clients, but were often invented by professionals in order to create a demand for their services. The "helping" professionals accepted a technological knowledge which could be centralized and then parceled out in a piecemeal fashion. Professionalism tends

to undermine individuals' capacity to provide for themselves and, thereby. justifies the continuing expansion and control of experts into new sectors of society. The values of behavioralism can be viewed as instrumental to this process.

Defining behavioralism as a research approach which influences and is influenced by larger social patterns suggests that a major obligation of researchers is to maintain a critical stance. Whether doing behavioral or other modes of study, such as ethnography or phenomenology, researchers must consider the impact of work beyond its immediate procedures or findings. They must scrutinize the interests, visions, and definitions of power made reasonable by the research approach. Their understanding must include an overview of larger social and political processes and of how they impinge upon research practices.

Conclusions

Educational research involves values which emerge from an interplay of various communities. Research into school affairs is influenced by a community of scholars who follow accepted lines of reasoning, standards of discourse, and definitions of problems. The character of research is also responsive to the issues and dilemmas confronted by the larger society. Research

is often initiated to resolve possible institutional contradictions. The study of poverty, deviance, moral development, or sexism are examples of such responses to conflict.

The values affirmed in research are political. Theories and methods imply what the customary ways of behaving in society are. Certain ways of participating in social affairs are given emphasis and, hence, preference through research activities. Rather than being aloof and detached, engagement in research affirms social values, beliefs, and hopes.

The values of educational research also have ideological implications. As argued earlier, the perspectives of social science not only describe but also give direction to how social events are to be challenged. The perspectives of research are increasingly incorporated into common sense reasoning. The theories of social and educational research help to define political, social, and educational problems. The methods of inquiry identify possible solutions. These practices tend to favor certain interests and handicap others in society through the underlying social visions and definitions of power contained in research.

The normative quality of educational research makes it especially potent when applied in schools because it imposes ideas and work patterns upon children. Much of what occurs in schools is justified and made credible by the activities of the educational research community. Scientific evidence provides the rationale for curriculum development, instructional approaches, and evaluation strategies. Theories about social affairs, childhood, and learning guide educators in their choice of content and in the procedures they use to conduct everyday activities at school.

Values in educational inquiry, therefore, pose certain responsibilities for educators when developing and evaluating school programs. First, a self-reflective and critical stance needs to be adopted by educational researchers. The theories and procedures used to study school programs and to devise curriculum are not neutral. Educators need to consider the social and political implications of educational analysis. It is worth noting that the traditions of objectivity, detachment, and scientific neutrality have undergone a thorough reexamination and redefinition within the philosophies of science. However, little of this discussion seems to have filtered into everyday educational discourse.

Second, educators should extend their notion of "adequacy" in research. In part, acceptable research must conform to scientific procedures for ensuring validity and reliability. These procedures, however, should include careful deliberation about the ethical premises and moral considerations upon which schools are founded. The potential of educational inquiry, I believe, is in its ability to sustain a public discourse about how schools can contribute to a more just and humane society.

Educational inquiry should provide a mode of analysis that can illuminate the unintended and latent consequences of our school arrangements. The ceremonies and rituals of our public institutions create symbolic forms which make ongoing practices seem heroic, institutional structures seem benevolent, and professionals seem competent in maintaining the historic mission of schools. Yet social affairs are filled with pretentions, deceptions, and self-deceptions by which people cloak the meanings and consequences of their arrangements with each other. Our institutional arrangements have become traditional, customary, and seemingly "natural." The unmasking and debunking motif in social inquiry can be a powerful intellectual force in a social world that is built upon beliefs in certainty (see, e.g., Berger & Luchmann, 1967).

Third, we should reconsider the way in which we proceed when designing curriculum. Many educators consider the idea of scientific method as a superior one in curriculum construction. Our analysis suggests that there is no one scientific method, but rather scientific methods, that people invent to respond to problems in their social world. Inventions of methods have the characteristic of reflecting different concepts of social order and of disciplined thought. While I have discussed some of the implications of the social nature of knowledge when applied to the problem of curriculum design elsewhere (Popkewitz, 1974, 1976, 1977), I would suggest here that to define inquiry as a logical or psychological task (such as analyzing, inferring, or interviewing) is to distort the nature and character of that enterprise as a social endeavor. Logical or solely psychological definitions hide the values and beliefs underlying the forms of content brought into schools and the role of discourse in giving shape to our conceptions of "self" and society.

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